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Policy Queries from CASSOWARIES 2 and 3

On 12 February 1951, CASSOWARY 15 relayed the following queries from CASSOWARIES 2 and 3 in New York:

- a. The time is approaching when the first CARTHAGE team will leave. This team must take in new briefing on policy matters concerning American-Ukrainian relationships. One of the most important questions which should be answered is what is the official American attitude to CASSOWARY 1. Secondly, can CASSOWARY 1 tell CAWNPORE what organization they are working with?
- b. CASSOWARY 1 is desirous of knowing whether cooperation with our organization is limited to technical assistance such as the dispatch of couriers and the transmittal of material support to CAWNPORE or whether we are also competent to settle the policy questions they raise. If our organization is competent to make decisions in both fields then whom among the various case officers in contact with CASSOWARY 1 are responsible for which phase? If our organization is competent only to give material and technical support, CASSOWARIES 2 and 3 would prefer to bring two more unspecified members of CASSOWARY 1 into the operation so that they themselves could concentrate on policy matters.
- c. What branches of the American government are kept informed of developments by our organization in this operation? How much is told them?
- d. What has been the reaction of the American government circles our organization has briefed?
- e. What branch of the government is competent to solve policy questions?
- f. What is the attitude of the Departments of State and Defense to the policy problems raised by CASSOWARY 1?
- g. Is our organization in a position to put policy questions to the State and Defense Departments and forward to CASSOWARY 1 the answer?
- h. What is the attitude of competent American government circles towards the liberation movements of national groups within the USSR?
- i. What is the American government attitude towards Ukrainian sovereignty?
- j. What are American plans concerning future moral support and encouragement of the nationalities in the Soviet Union, and in particular the Ukrainians?
- k. Does our organization have any reason for seeking to hide the struggle of the Ukrainian people in the homeland from the American people? Reference is made in particular to the Voice of America which has even withheld from their broadcasts significant policy statements by American political leaders such as Truman and Stassen on the question of nationalities inside Russia.

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1. What briefing should the couriers to the homeland be given in answer to the questions above? It should be remembered that the CAWNPORE leaders in the homeland must draw their own conclusions re future resistance activities and plans from the official and unofficial utterances of the leaders in western democratic states.

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Policy Answers to CASSOWARIES 2 and 3

[] has worked out for discussion the following answers and indications of action to be taken on questions raised by CASSOWARIES 2 and 3 in early February:

a. The U.S. government considers CASSOWARY 1 to be the official foreign representation of the Ukrainian liberation movement and in particular the UHVR and the UPA. The U.S. recognizes and approves all the functions and authority delegated to CASSOWARY 1 by the homeland. Furthermore, the U.S. intends to run only those courier and supply operations to the Ukrainian underground of which CASSOWARY 1 and CAWNPORE approves. The U.S. government intends to maintain both overt and covert contact with CASSOWARY 1. The overt contact will, however, serve mainly as a cover story for the covert contact until such time as a policy favorable to the national aspirations of the Ukraine can be enunciated openly by the U.S. government.

CASSOWARY 1 should merely inform CAWNPORE via CASSOWARY 5 that it is satisfied with the organization with which it collaborates (no mention of a specific organization should be made).

b. Cooperation between the U.S. government and CASSOWARY 1 is not limited to technical and material assistance. This operation specifically includes policy matters as well. Naturally none of the individual Americans with whom CASSOWARY 1 is in covert contact are competent to make policy decisions without approval from their superiors, and in some cases approval from other competent government agencies such as the State and Defense Departments is required.

Concerning the necessity of bringing other members of CASSOWARY 1 into the technical side of the operation, it can be said now that the participation of CASSOWARY 13 in the training program for CAWNPORE 3 members in the U.S. is desirable. CASSOWARY 13 will, however, be kept divorced from the type of operations we have run to date and which we will continue to run. CASSOWARY 7 also is deemed a good candidate for the position of consultant and field assistant in Germany. He will not participate in the operation, however, unless CASSOWARY 1 can guarantee his reliability and security, including the guarantee that he no longer has any direct or indirect intelligence contacts with the Vatican, the Swiss, the French, or any other intelligence service.

c. The President, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the State Department are informed of the results of this operation. By results is meant the important information brought out of the Ukraine and the views of this organization re the significance of the Ukrainian resistance movement.

d. (This question must be answered by FJCape, Chief FDS, ADSO and Mr. Allen Dulles, who have handled the briefing.)

e. The high internal policy questions are decided by the State Department and the President.

f. Intense interest.

g. Yes, but not in cases where the State Department answer is intended for the information of OGIVE and FJCape only.

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h. (FJCape must check with the State Department for the answer to this question.)

i. (same as h.)

j. (same as h.)

k. The U.S. government has no reason for desiring to hide the struggle of the Ukrainian people from the world public. The deletions on the Voice of America programs are being investigated. (FJCape should make this investigation.)

l. Everything told the couriers relating to information above must be essential either to (a) the encouragement of CANIPORE leadership, or to (b) keep the underground abreast of the progress made by CASSOWARY 1 since May 1950. The briefing must be more positive than that given in May 1950. On the national question, statements similar to the following must be made:

"The U.S. actively supports the principle of self-determination. The U.S. is prepared to take all reasonable steps to insure that the future of the Ukraine will depend upon the will of the majority of the Ukrainian people. The U.S. considers all active anti-Soviet Ukrainians as unofficial allies in the fight to overthrow the Soviet regime. It would only be unethical for the U.S., as the leading nation of the democratic anti-Bolshevist world, to give moral and other types of support to her democratic and freedom-loving allies in ratio to their contribution both before and during the all-out war against the Soviet empire."

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